

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON MEETING APRIL 22 (SALT TWO-982)

1. AT TODAY'S MEETING SEMENOV MADE STATEMENT LIGHTLY TOUCHING ON THEIR PROPOSAL FOR AGREED STATEMENT ON PARA 3 OF ARTICLE XVI (DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT) AND MORE EXTENDED STATEMENT KEYED TO MY APRIL 14 STATEMENT ON ICBM DEFINITION. REFERRING TO MY APRIL 14 QUESTION AS TO WHETHER, UNDER SOVIET FORMULATION, A DETERMINATION WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL LAUNCHER "SPECIALLY DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED" FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS, AS WELL AS MY QUESTION ON HOW THE GAP WOULD BE BRIDGED AS TO WHAT IS OBSERVED BY TESTING AND WHAT IS OBSERVED IN THE FIELD, HIS STATEMENT SAID THAT "IT DOES NOT FOLLOW FROM THE SOVIET APPROACH TO THE DEFINITION OF ICBM LAUNCHERS THAT ONLY THOSE SPECIFIC ICBM LAUNCHERS DEPLOYED WHICH HAVE BEEN USED FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS WERE TO BE CONSIDERED AS ICBM LAUNCHERS. IT IS A MATTER OF COUNTING WITHIN THE MAXIMUM AGGREGATE LEVEL OF 2400, WHICH IS BEING ESTABLISHED, ALL THOSE ICBM LAUNCHERS WHICH WERE ACTUALLY DEPLOYED FOR LAUNCHING ALND-BASEC ICBMS." HIS STATEMENT

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ALSO SAID THAT OUR QUESTION ON SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO A LAUNCHER

THAT HAD BEEN DEVELOPED TO LAUNCH BOTH ICBMS AND MISSILES OF LESS THAN ICBM RANGE AND THEN WAS DEPLOYED ONLY TO LAUNCH MISSILES WITH LESS THAN ICBM RANGE WAS "PURELY HYPOTHETICAL."

2. I MADE STATEMENT ON MIRV VERIFICATION KEYED TO HIS STATEMENT OF APRIL 14 ON THAT SUBJECT, DURING COURSE OF WHICH I PROPOSED THAT TWO DELEGATIONS MOVE AHEAD AS EXPEDITIOUSLY AS POSSIBLE TO EXPLORE DETAILED ASPECTS OF UNDERSTANDING TO BE INCLUDED IN TEXT OF AGREEMENT ON ZHEN ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS BEING CONVERTED TO MIRVS WOULD BECOME SUBJECT TO MIRV LIMITATION. I ALSO NOTED AND STATED I WAS WAITING FOR HIS RESPONSE TO OTHER ASPECTS OF US MIRV PROPOSAL CONTAINED IN PARA 6 OF ARTICLE II (ONCE TESTED AS MIRV ALWAYS AS MIRV) AND AGREED STATEMENT FOR PARA 1 OF ARTICLE V (COUNTING AS MIRV ALL LAUNCHERS OF A TYPE THAT CONTAINED OR HAD LAUNCHED A MIRV MISSILE) AND LISTING BY EACH SIDE OF EXISTING ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS WHICH WOULD AND WHICH WOULD NOT BE INCLUDED IN MIRV LIMITATION.

3. IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION I, IN EFFECT, SAID THAT, WHILE I OF COURSE WOULD STUDY HIS TODAY'S STATEMENT, AT FIRST HEARING I FOUND HIS ANSWERS TO MY APRIL 14 QUESTIONS SOMEWHAT MURKY. REFERRING TO HIS STATEMENT THAT QUESTION OF LAUNCHERS WHICH COULD LAUNCH BOTH ICBM AND ICBM WITH LESS THAN ICBM RANGE DEPLOYED ONLY FOR LATTER PURPOSE WAS "HYPOTHETICAL," I SAID THAT IN ORDER TO MAKE IT COMPLETELY CLEAR WHY WE DID NOT CONSIDER SUCH A POSSIBILITY ENTIRELY THEORETICAL, I WANTED TO NOTE THAT CONSISTENT WITH POSITION CONTAINED IN US PORTION OF JDT WHICH PROVIDED FOR POSSIBILITY OF LAND-BASED MOBILES, I WANTED TO NOTE THAT OUR APPROACH TO ICBM DEFINITION WAS DESIGNED ALSO TO COVER THIS POSSIBILITY OF MOBILE ICBMS, IF EVENTUALLY THERE WERE AGREEMENT TO PERMIT SUCH MOBILES. I SAID THAT I WAS NOT IN ANY WAY PROPOSING TO OPEN MOBILE QUESTION AT THIS TIME HERE IN GENEVA, BUT HOPED THAT UNDERSTANDING OF THIS ASPECT OF OUR APPROACH TO ICBM DEFINITION QUESTION WOULD BETTER ENABLE HIS EXPERTS TO EXPLAIN TO HIM WHY THIS WAS NOT ANY "HYPOTHETICAL" QUESTION.

4. DURING COURSE OF PRIVATE CONVERSATION HE ALSO SAID HE WANTED FORMALLY TO CONFIRM TO ME HIS AGREEMENT TO MY MARCH 17 PROPOSAL THAT THE TEXT OF PARA 4, ARTICLE IV,  
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(SILO DIMENSIONS) TO GETHER WITH AGREED STATEMENT AND COMMON UNDERSTANDING, SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AGREED AT CHIEFS OF DELEGATION LEVEL AD REFERENDUM TO GOVERNMENTS.

5. HE THEN TAXED ME WITH DRAFTING GROUP HAVING REVERSED COURSE ON APRIL 13, JUST WHEN AGREEMENT SEEMED CLOSE ON THROW-WEIGHT DEFINITION, AND INTRODUCING NEW ELEMENTS THAT SEEMED TO BE CANCELING OUT ALL PREVIOUS PROGRESS ON SUBJECT.

I VIROROUSLY TOOK EXCEPTION TO HIS STATEMENT, SAYING THAT I AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION HAD BEEN CLOSELY FOLLOWING THIS MATTER ON WHICH THERE SEEMED TO BE LITTLE OR NO PROBLEM OF SUBSTANCE, BUT ONLY PROBLEM OF TERMINOLOGY ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES, AND ACTION TAKEN IN DRAFTING GROUP HAD BEEN CAREFULLY CONSIDERED IN ORDER TO MAKE EFFORT TO MEET WHAT WE UNDERSTOOD TO BE SOVIET PROBLEMS WITH LANGUAGE.

6. USING PROBLEMS ON THROW-WEIGHT DEFINITION AS TAKE-OFF POINT, I SAID THAT IN RETROSPECT RATHER THAN "START FROM TOP" ON EACH SIDE BY TABLING FORMAL LANGUAGE, PERHAPS IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER TO HAVE HAD EXPERTS MEET AT PURELY EXPERT LEVEL TO DISCUSS RESPECTIVE CONCEPTS AND TERMINOLOGY FROM WHICH MUTUALLY AGREEABLE FORMAL TEXT COULD BE MORE READILY ARRIVED AT. THUS, IN MY STATEMENT TODAY ON MIRV VERIFICATION INSTEAD OF PROPOSING FOR DELEGATIONS TO EXPLORE DETAILED ASPECTS OF THIS QUESTION. WHAT I HAD IN MIND AND WANTED TO DISCUSS WITH HIM WAS CONCEPT OF HAVING ONE OR TWO EXPERTS FROM EACH DELEGATION EXPLORE SUBSTANCE OF THIS QUESTION AS VIEWED BY EACH SIDE, WITH NO COMMITMENT BY EITHER DELEGATION AND WITHOUT IN ANY SENSE SEEKING TO NEGOTIATE LANGUAGE. THIS I WOULD HOPE TO FIND WAY TO AVOID PROBLEMS SUCH AS THOSE THAT PLAGUED US ON THROW-WEIGHT DEFINITION. SEMENOV SHOWED NO ENTHUSIASM, STATING THESE WERE "DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS" AND IN EFFECT THE ROLE OF EXPERTS WAS SIMPLY TO ADVISE THEIR DIPLOMATIC LEADERS AND BETTERS; BUT IT WAS AGREED THAT WE WOULD HAVE PRIVATE MEETING NEXT TUESDAY TO FURTHER DISCUSS.

7. THE NEXT MEETING IS SCHEDULED FOR WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 28, USSR MISSION. JOHNSON

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